2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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773 ground. When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him, He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a man has grown old, his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer."

●571 During my sojourn among this people, I used frequently to hear the younger folk call one another by such names as "Crook-back," and "Mangy, aged deer," but I could never see wherein the sting lay till I was made acquainted with this legend. Having learned it myself, I tried it on one or two people, but instead of their getting angry I was only rewarded with fits of laughter, which produced the effects I wanted.

829 The Ainu are very anthropomorphic in their ideas of the Divine, and they ascribe mistakes to the gods somewhat freely. They often treat them as equals. Even the divine Aeoina was not perfect, as the curious tale now to be cited shows.

772 773 "When God was in the act of making the first man and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for him unexpectedly to return to heaven on important business. Just before setting out, He called a river otter which happened to be near, and told him He was going away, but would very soon send another deity to finish the job, and he, the otter, was to deliver a certain message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would be sure to give the message, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by going up and down the rivers catching fish and gorging himself with their flesh. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message—yea, the otter clean forgot all about it. This is why the first man was made so imperfect. As a punishment for this delinquency and astounding forgetfulness, God inflicted him with a bad memory—yea, He took his memory clean away. This

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.